

/122 cont. /

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Unfortunately neither Carlotta nor Luisa and Maria spoke one syllable of their mother tongue.

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The young men had the old women. It is therefore not improbable that Luis, who himself boasted of the conquest of three women's hearts, was not wrong when he maintained that occasional /123/ unfaithfulness is not uncommon and also is not

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severely judged. The good-natured, aged Caetano, he said, even fell sick, to his astonishment, a short time after the visit of the Martyr's exposition, but he was unable to be taken with his Lluís for more than a few days.

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Luis Caybí and Carlotta Parecí.

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The use of abortive remedies is said to be common and to explain the small number of children. The end of this community can clearly be foreseen.

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[125]

The following was the result of my census:

Felipe (absent) married to Carlotta Parecí, children.

Caetano " " Luisa Caybí, children.

Miguel } brothers " " Feliciano, one small daughter.

Joaquim }

João }

Antonio }

brothers (our companion).

Josquina, sister of Miguel and Joaquim.

Mariana.

/331 cont./

see, could occupy the lying-in room at the home of the parents-in-law. Although the people lived in monogamy and the father was the head of the family, the mother's brother was still regarded as equal to the father as a protector of the child and in any case, if the father died, assumed all responsibilities until the children were grown. He, not the mother, was in charge of their property.

Among all the tribes, older and younger brothers had different designations. The younger brother was on the same level as the cousin and had a name in common with him. The Bakalif called me "older brother" and later in the third village also "grandfather"; the Mehinaké called me "uncle" (mother's brother). My traveling companions were always called my "younger brothers or cousins" and were also addressed in this way by the Indians themselves.

Marriages were concluded without wedding celebrations, the parents, first the fathers, then the mothers, talk matters over, and the father of the bride receives /332/ arrows and stone axes; the bridegroom must also work with him in the clearing "to show that he knows how," he hangs his hammock above that of the girl, and everything is in order. That older men have young wives and younger men older wives was clearly pronounced only on the Faranatinga, but not on the Kulisehu (this prerogative of the old thus appears only with the decline of the tribe). At least the few matrimonial unions with which I became more closely acquainted in Maigiri were evenly matched. Divorce among the Bakalif takes place without any trouble, it was said, even if the husband is not in favor of it. "The woman leaves, perhaps he will catch her again."

I have spoken earlier about the division of labor between the sexes; cf. pp. 216 ff. The woman did not occupy an undignified position. The husband let her carry a larger load than he himself carried, he kept her away from the flute house where the men consulted, smoked, celebrated festivals, and where strangers were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and he did what she wanted. When Martinus says that the woman does not occupy an inferior position "in spite of slavish subordination as a result of

/22 cont./

inhabitants planned to poison him. So he remained in the port near our canoes. But the difficulties this caused me were compensated for by the fact that during his visit to the second aldeia of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairi, he had married a local Indian girl and taken her to the Rio Paranatinga.

José was already trying then in every possible way to become independent from his stepfather. I found this out primarily from a conversation between José and his mother which I overheard during my stay in Antonio's house. Already then he had several Xinguanos working in his service, and although they were not as numerous as the Xinguanos in the service of Cacique Antonio, this competition could be seen as a factor that was beginning to curtail Antonio's power, which had reached its zenith at the time, and that threatened sooner or later to lead to a violent outcome. This discord between Antonio and his son-in-law Aic was important to the outcome of the expedition I had undertaken to the Rio Kulisehu insofar as José Coroado was ready to accompany me with his brother-in-law Chico, who was from the second Bakairi aldeia on the Rio Kulisehu, while Antonio made his help to my undertaking contingent on inordinately high demands which far exceeded my then rather scant resources for travel. Finally I was able to persuade Antonio to let me have two of his people to accompany me to the embarkation point on the Rio Kulisehu and then to return with my pack oxen to the Rio Paranatinga.

As a result of the active and close contact which had prevailed since the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions between the Bakairi of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen of the upper Xingu River region, the /23/ way of life of the former had regained a more native character. I have already mentioned that José Coroado's large house showed friezes with paintings of a purely Bakairi nature. Antonio was again participating, painted above the waist, in native dances and because of the frequency of illnesses at the time among the Paranatinga Bakairi, he wanted to induce a doctor from the second Bakairi

114 /26 cont. /

361 the Rio S. Manuel and the Rio Paranatinga (officially named Rio Telles Pires), encountered the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga and those who had settled at the "Cabeceira do Chapadão." (31)

31. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa,
loc. cit., p. 70.

361 In the aldeia situated on the Rio Novo there still lived at
622 this time the old cacique, Reginaldo, who then wore a long,
[249] white beard. He had good plantations, he carried on some
361 raising of cattle and horses, and he had a stand of rubber trees
from which he had rubber sought. (32) A small group of

32. Ibid.

[423] Bakairí from the Arinos region lived at this time on the Cabeceira
[464] do Pilão, a tributary of the Rio Arinos. They were the Bakairí,
André, and four fellow tribesmen who owned plantations and
worked as rubber workers. (33)

33. Ibid., pp. 70 and 71.

159 Meanwhile changes had taken place among the Rio
622 Paranatinga Bakairí. Antonio was still cacique of the aldeia,
593 which was still at the same place, slightly downriver from the
361 mouth of the São Manuel River on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio
Telles Pires), where it had been set up after the death of
Cacique Felipe. Since the aldeia consisted at this time of seven
houses, it may be assumed that Antonio still commanded a
relatively large number of Bakairí. But he was no longer the
sole ruler of all the Paranatinga Bakairí. The differences which
159 had already existed for a long time between Antonio and his
593 stepson, José Coroado, had become intensified, and after a
361 serious quarrel between them, José Coroado had left Antonio's

/26 cont./

159 aldea and established with his people his own village, situated
593 13 kilometers downriver on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga
361 (Rio Telles Pires) and four kilometers from the main river on
the small Ribeirão Azul. This was the same place where at the
time of my trip in the year 1927 the Puesto de Simões Lopes
/Simões Lopes Post/ was.

159 Through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa we know that Dofia Rosa
593 Bororo, José Coroado's mother and for many years Cacique
Antonio's wife, had died in January, 1913 in her son's village.

[174] /27/ From this piece of information it may be deduced, on the
one hand, that José Coroado's move to the Ribeirão Azul had
already taken place before the year 1913, and on the other
hand, that Rosa Bororo, in the quarrel between her husband and
her son, followed the latter and left Antonio. The latter had
already married in 1915 a young woman who, according to
Antonio Pyrineus, was a daughter of old Cacique Reginaldo by
a Kayabí woman. Possibly Antonio Pyrineus made a mistake
[114] with respect to this piece of information, for we know through
Karl von den Steinen that the cacique who had married young
Luisa Kayabí was old Caetano, who was then cacique of the
aldeia situated on the Rio Paranatinga, while I never heard it
said that the wife of Cacique Reginaldo, whom I knew in per-
son, was a Kayabí. If the information that the second wife of
Cacique Antonio was a Kayabí is correct, I would presume that
she was the daughter of Luisa Kayabí, who was still living at
the time of my trip in the year 1927, at the Simões Lopes Post
and thus the legitimate daughter, although presumably not the
natural daughter, of old Cacique Caetano.

162 A considerable increase in the population of the Rio
361 Paranatinga had been caused by the fact that Cacique Kurutú
166 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River had moved with 180
Xinguanos to the Rio Paranatinga. Cacique Kurutú's new aldeia
was situated eight kilometers downriver from Cacique Antonio's
aldeia, on the left side of the Rio Paranatinga and some 200
meters from the river. But of these 180 Xinguanos, already in

[P.93-B]

- 61 There appears to be no evidence that the Bacairi had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 2.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are distinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was common but not preferred. There were no residence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Bacairi lived in large communal houses, marriages often took place between young people brought up in the same house. After marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Bacairi say that families could move to another house with the consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monogamous. The father and the father's brother had great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but less than the eldest brother. The relationship between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informant saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (ERANILLA)

- 643 Pregnancy (cack-ko) was recognized as being caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives, a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord